

THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM CLEARLY DEFINES PARTY'S AIMS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

Following is the text of the Republican platform for 1920 as adopted at the Chicago convention:

The republican party, assembled in representative national convention, reaffirms its unyielding devotion to the constitution of the United States and to the guarantees of civil, political and religious liberty therein contained. It will resist all attempts to overthrow the foundations of the government or to weaken the force of its controlling principles and ideals, whether these attempts be made in the form of international policy or domestic agitation.

For seven years the national government has been controlled by the democratic party. During that period a war of unparalleled magnitude has shaken the foundations of civilization, decimated the population of Europe, and left in its train economic misery and suffering second only to war itself. The outstanding features of the democratic party have been complete unpreparedness for war and complete unpreparedness for peace.

Unpreparedness for War.

Inexcusable failure to make timely preparations is the chief indictment against the democratic party in the conduct of the war. Had not our associates protected us, both on land and sea, during the first 12 months of our participation, and furnished us to the very day of the armistice with munitions, planes and artillery, this failure would have been punished with disaster. It directly resulted in unnecessary losses to our gallant troops, in the imperilment of victory itself, and in an enormous waste of public funds literally poured into the breach created by gross neglect. Today it is reflected in our huge tax burden and in the high cost of living.

Unpreparedness for Peace.

Peace found the administration as unprepared for peace as war found it unprepared for war. The vital needs of the country demanded an early and systematic return to a peace-time basis. This called for vision, leadership and intelligent planning. All three have been lacking. While the country has been left to shift for itself, the government has continued on a wartime basis. The administration has not demobilized the army of place holders. It continued a method of financing which was indefensible during the period of reconstruction.

It has used legislation passed to meet the emergency of war to continue its arbitrary and inquisitorial control over the life of the people in time of peace and to carry confusion into industrial life. Under the despot's plea of necessary or superior wisdom legislative usurpation of legislative and judicial functions still undermines our institutions.

Eighteen months after the armistice, with its war time powers unabridged, its war time departments undisarmed, its war time army of place holders still mobilized, the administration continues to flounder helplessly.

The demonstrated incapacity of the democratic party has destroyed public confidence, weakened the authority of government and produced a feeling of distrust and hesitation so universal as to increase enormously the difficulties of readjustment and to delay the return to normal conditions. Never has our nation been confronted with graver problems.

The people are entitled to know in definite terms how the parties propose solving these problems. To that end the republican party declares its policies and program to be as follows:

Constitutional Government.

We undertake to end executive autocracy and restore to the people their constitutional government.

The policies herein declared will be carried out by the federal and state governments, each acting within its constitutional powers.

Congress and Reconstruction.

Despite the unconstitutional and dictatorial course of the president and the partisan obstruction of the democratic congressional minority, the republican majority has enacted a program of constructive legislation which in great part, however, has been nullified by the vindictive vetoes of the president.

The republican congress has met the problems presented by the administration's unpreparedness for peace. It has repealed the greater part of the vexatious war legislation. It has enacted a transportation act making possible the rehabilitation of the railroad systems of the country, the operation of which, under the present democratic administration, has been wasteful, extravagant and inefficient in the highest degree. The transportation act made provision for the peaceful settlement of wage disputes, partially nullified, however, by the president's delay in appointing the wage board created by the act. This delay precipitated the outlandish railroad strike.

We stopped the flood of public treasure, recklessly poured into the lap of an inept shipping board, and laid the foundations for the creation of a great merchant marine; we took from the incompetent democratic administration the administration of the telegraph and telephone lines of the country and returned them to private ownership; we reduced the cost of postage and increased the pay of postal employees—the poorest paid of all public servants; we provided pensions for superannuated and retired civil servants; and for an increase of pay for soldiers and sailors. We reorganized the army on a peace footing and provided for the maintenance of a powerful and efficient navy.

The republican congress established by a law a permanent woman's bureau in the department of labor; we submitted to the country the constitutional amendment for woman suffrage, and furnished 29 of the 35 constitu-

tional legislatures which have ratified it to date.

Legislation for the relief of the consumers of print paper, for the extension of the powers of the government under the food control act, for broadening the scope of the war risk insurance act, better provisions for the dwindling number of aged veterans of the civil war and for the better support of the maimed and injured of the great war, and for making practical the vocational rehabilitation act, has been enacted by the republican congress.

We passed an oil leasing and water power bill to unlock for the public good the great pent up resources of the country; we have sought to check the profligacy of the administration, to realize upon the assets of the government and to husband the revenues derived from taxation. The republicans in congress have been responsible for cuts in the estimates for government expenditure of nearly three billion dollars, since the signing of the armistice.

We enacted the national executive budget law; we strengthened the federal reserve act to permit banks to lend needed assistance to farmers; we authorized financial corporations to develop export trade; and finally, amended the rules of the senate and house, which will reform evils in procedure and guarantee more efficient and responsible government.

Agriculture.

The farmer is the backbone of the nation. National greatness and economic independence demand a population distributed between industry and the farm, and sharing on equal terms the prosperity which is wholly dependent on the efforts of both. Neither can prosper at the expense of the other without inviting joint disaster.

The crux of the present agricultural conditions lies in prices, labor and credit.

The republican party believes that this conditions can be improved by practical and adequate farm representation in the appointment of governmental officials and commissions; the right to form co-operative associations for marketing their products and protection against discrimination; the scientific study of agricultural prices and farm production costs at home and abroad, with view to reducing the frequency of abnormal fluctuations; the uncensored publication of such reports; the authorization of associations for the extension of personal credit; a national inquiry on the coordination of rail, water and motor transportation with adequate facilities for receiving, handling and marketing food; the encouragement of our export trade; an end to unnecessary price fixing and ill-considered efforts arbitrarily to reduce prices of farm products which invariably result to the disadvantage both of producer and consumer; and the encouragement of the production and importation of fertilizing material and of its extensive use.

The federal farm loan act should be so administered as to facilitate the acquisition of farm land by those desiring to become owners and proprietors and thus minimize the evils of farm tenancy and to furnish such long time credits as farmers may need to finance adequately their larger and long time production operations.

Industrial Relations.

There are two different conceptions of the relations of capital and labor. The one is contractual, emphasizes the diversity of interests of employer and employee. The other is that of co-partnership in a common task.

We recognize the justice of collective bargaining as a means of promoting good will, establishing closer and more harmonious relations between employer and employee and realizing the true ends of industrial justice.

The strike or the lockout as a means of settling industrial disputes inflicts such loss and suffering on the community as to justify government initiative to reduce its frequency and limit its consequences.

We deny the right to strike against the government; but the rights and interests of all government employees must be safeguarded by impartial laws and tribunals.

In public utilities we favor the establishment of an impartial tribunal to make an investigation of the facts and to render a decision to the end that there may be no organized interruption of service to the lives and health and welfare of the people. The decisions of the tribunals to be morally but not legally binding, and an informed public amendment to be relied upon to secure their acceptance. The tribunal, however, should refuse to accept jurisdiction except for the purpose of investigation, as long as the public service be interrupted. For public utilities we favor the type of tribunal provided for in the transportation act of 1920.

For private industries we do not advocate the principle of compulsory arbitration, but we favor impartial commissions and better facilities for voluntary mediation, conciliation and arbitration, supplemented by that full publicity which will enlist the influence of an aroused public opinion. The government should take the initiative in inviting the establishment of tribunals or commissions for the purpose of voluntary arbitration and investigation of the issues.

We demand the exclusion from interstate commerce of the products of convict labor.

National Economy.

A republican congress reduced the estimates submitted by the administration for the fiscal year 1920 almost three billion dollars and for the fiscal year 1921 over a billion and a quarter dollars.

Greater economies could have been effected had it not been for the stubborn refusal of the administration to co-operate with congress in an economy program.

The universal demand for a legislative budget is a recognition of the incontrovertible fact that leadership and sincere assistance on the part of the executive departments are essential to effective economy and constructive retrenchment.

The Overman act invested the president of the United States with all the authority and power necessary to restore the federal government to a normal peace basis and to reorganize and to retrench and to demobilize. The dominant fact is that 18 months after the armistice the United States government is still on a war-time basis and the expenditure program of the executive reflects war-time extravagance rather than rigid peace-time economy.

As an example of the failure to retrench which has characterized the post-war policy of the administration, we cite the fact that, not including the war and navy departments, the executive departments and other establishments at Washington actually record an increase subsequent to the armistice of 2184 employees. The net decrease in payroll costs contained in the 1921 demands submitted by the administration is only one per cent under that of 1920.

The annual expenses of federal operations can be reduced hundreds of millions of dollars without impairing the efficiency of the public service. We pledge ourselves to a carefully planned readjustment to a peace-time basis and to a policy of rigid economy, to the better co-ordination of departmental activities, to the elimination of unnecessary officials and employees and to the raising of the standard of individual efficiency.

The Executive Budget.

We congratulate the republican congress on the enactment of a law providing for the establishment of an executive budget as a necessary instrument for a sound and businesslike administration of the national finances, and we condemn the veto of the president which defeated this great financial reform.

Reorganization of Federal Departments and Bureaus.

We advocate a thorough investigation of the present organization of the federal departments and bureaus, with a view to securing consolidation, a more businesslike distribution of functions, the elimination of duplication, delays and over-lapping of work and the establishment of an up-to-date and efficient administrative organization.

War Powers of President.

The president clings tenaciously to his autocratic war-time powers.

His veto of the resolution declaring peace and his refusal to sign the bill repealing war-time legislation, no longer necessary, evidenced his determination not to restore to the nation and to the states the form of government provided for by the constitution. This usurpation is intolerable and deserves the severest condemnation.

Taxation.

The burden of taxation imposed upon the American people is staggering; but in presenting a true statement of the situation we must face the fact that, while the character of the taxes can and should be changed, an early reduction of the amount of revenue to be raised is not to be expected.

The next republican administration will inherit from its democratic predecessor a floating indebtedness of over \$3,000,000,000; the prompt liquidation of which is demanded by sound financial considerations. Moreover, the whole fiscal policy of the government must be deeply influenced by the necessity of meeting obligations in excess of \$5,000,000,000, which mature in 1923. But sound policy equally demands the early accomplishment of that real reduction of the tax burden which may be achieved by substituting simple for complex tax laws and procedure, prompt and certain determination of the tax liability for delay and uncertainty, tax laws which do not excessively mulct the consumer or needlessly necessitate enterprise and thrift.

We advocate the issuance of a simplified list of incomes, authorizing the trade to make changes in regulations effective only from the date of their approval; empowering the commissioner of internal revenue, with the consent of taxpayer, to make final and conclusive settlements of tax claims and assessments barring fraud, and the creation of a tax board consisting of at least three representatives of the taxpayer public and the heads of the principal divisions of the bureau of internal revenue to act as a standing committee on the simplification of forms, procedure and law, and to make recommendations to the congress.

Banking and Currency.

The one dominating fact is that the war, to a great extent, was financed by a policy of inflation through certificate borrowing from the banks, and bonds issued at artificial rates sustained by the low discount rates established by the federal reserve board. The continuance of this policy since the armistice lays the administration open to severe criticism.

Almost up to the present time the practices of the federal reserve board as to credit control have been frankly dominated by the convenience of the treasury. The results have been a greatly increased war cost, a serious loss to the millions of people who, in good faith, bought Liberty bonds and Victory notes at par, and extensive post-war speculation, followed today by a restricted credit for legitimate expansion.

As a matter of public policy we urge all banks to give credit preference to essential industries.

The federal reserve system should be free from political influence, which is quite as important as its independence of domination by financial combinations.

High Cost of Living.

The primary cause of the "high cost of living" has been first and foremost a 50 per cent depreciation in the purchasing power of the dollar due to a gross expansion of our currency and credit. Reduced production, burdensome taxation, swollen profits and the increased demand for goods arising

from a fictitious but enlarged buying power have been contributing causes in a greater or less degree.

We condemn the unsound fiscal policies of the democratic administration which have brought these things to pass and their attempts to impute the consequences to minor and secondary causes. Much of the injury wrought is irreparable. There is no short way out, and we decline to deceive the people with vain promises of quick remedies. But as the political party that throughout its history has stood for honest money and sound finance we pledge ourselves to earnest and consistent attack upon the high cost of living by rigorous avoidance of further inflation of our expanded credit and currency, by encouragement of heightened production of goods and services, by prevention of unreasonable profits, by exercise of public economy and stimulation of private thrift and by revision of war-imposed taxes unsuited to peace-time economy.

Profiteering.

We condemn the democratic administration for failure to enforce the anti-profiteering laws enacted by the republican congress.

Industry and Commerce.

We approve in general the existing federal legislation against monopoly and combinations in restraint of trade, but since the known certainty of a law is the safety of all, we advocate such amendment as will provide American business men with better means of determining in advance whether a proposed combination is or is not unlawful. The federal trade commission under a democratic administration has not achieved the purpose for which it was created. This federal trade commission, properly organized and its duties efficiently administered, should afford protection to the public and legitimate business interests.

Trade and Tariff.

The uncertain and unsettled condition of international balance, the abnormal economic and trade situation of the world and the impossibility of forecasting accurately even the near future preclude the formation of a definite program to meet conditions a year hence. But the republican party reaffirms its belief in the protective principle and pledges itself to a revision of the tariff as soon as conditions shall make it necessary for the preservation of the home market for American agriculture, labor and industry.

The national defense and our foreign commerce require a merchant marine of the best type of modern ship flying the American flag, manned by American seamen, owned by private capital and operated by private energy.

We endorse the sound legislation recently enacted by the republican congress that will insure the promotion and maintenance of the American merchant marine. We favor the application of the workmen's compensation laws to the merchant marine.

Immigration.

The standard of living and the standard of citizenship of a nation are its most precious possessions and the preservation and elevation of those standards is the first duty of our government.

The immigration policy of the United States should be such as to insure that the number of foreigners in the country at any one time shall not exceed that which can be assimilated with reasonable rapidity and to favor immigrants whose standards are similar to ours.

Selective tests that are at present applied should be improved by requiring a higher standard, a more complete exclusion of mental defects

tives and of criminals, and a more effective inspection applied as near the source of immigration as possible, as well as at the port of entry. Justice to the foreigner and to ourselves demands provision for the guidance, protection and better economic distribution of our alien population. All aliens should be required to register annually until they become naturalized.

The existing policy of the United States for the practical exclusion of (Continued on Page 14)

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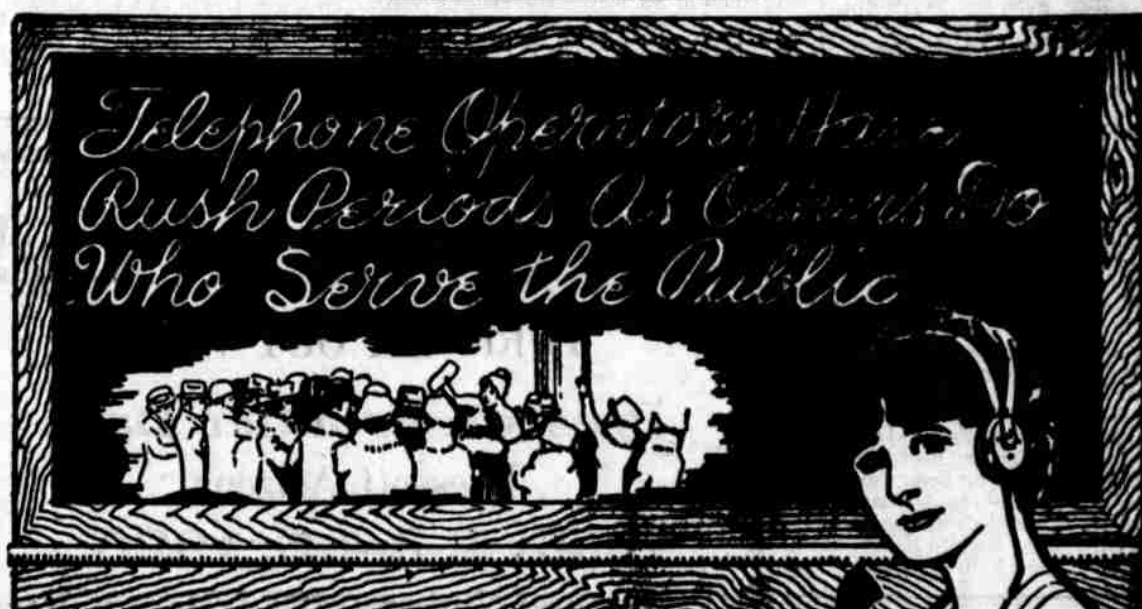
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Abnormal conditions is the answer. Patience and reasonable consideration is the temporary remedy until adequate equipment may be had.

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